



NEWSLETTER OF THE LONDON CHAPTER
ONTARIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY



NOVEMBER, 1984

84-8

SALVAGE OSTEOLOGY AT THE E.C. ROW SITE, WINDSOR, ONTARIO

This month's speaker, Dr. El Molto, will be travelling from Toronto to provide us with a better understanding of the less than optimum conditions under which osteologists must work from time to time. The reasons for the difficulty, as well as the results of his brief analysis will be communicated in what should be a most entertaining slide illustrated talk.

Meeting time is 8:00 P.M., next Thursday, November 8.
See you at the Museum of Indian Archaeology!

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Chapter
Executive

EXECUTIVE REPORT

Once again the Gibbs hosted our Chapter executive gathering. The October 29 meeting was attended by the entire executive, who continued plans for our 1985 O.A.S. Symposium. It was decided that a banquet speaker, rather than a dinner dance, would be arranged for next year. Archaeologists such as Ronald Mason, Michael Gramly and Kent Flannery were suggested as possible speakers.

Chapter finances were again a major topic of discussion, as spring bus trip destinations including Rice Lake and Manitoulin Island were considered. The possibility of a London Chapter workshop or seminar similar to the McMaster Symposium was raised. Such an event might be hosted by the university or museum every second year and could generate additional revenue. Thoughts of increased Chapter membership fees were set aside for the moment, pending an announcement from the parent Society concerning a substantial rate hike.

Closing discussions centered around final arrangements for our Chapter Christmas Party (see below) and a slate of speakers for the February members' night. Rumour has it that we may be treated to presentations by Christine Dodd, Jim Keron and George Connoy... among others!

SOCIAL REPORT

For those of you who missed them, the Museum's *Native Harvest Weekend* and the O.A.S. Annual Symposium were both a considerable success. Our thanks to Bob Calvert who kindly distributed membership application forms at the Museum festival! This year's symposium was refreshing for the new faces in the audience and among the speakers...

CHRISTMAS PARTY!

The Kerons have graciously offered their home for the annual festivities

to be held this year on Saturday, December 15. Those attending next week's meeting will be asked to indicate what they wish to contribute to the meal. A roast turkey and/or ham will be provided by the Chapter.

CHAPTER THURSDAY NITE LABS

Sorry - cancelled until further notice, due to yet another M.C.C. salvage excavation!

Members, a very few copies of Dr. Gerald Killan's excellent volume entitled *David Boyle: from artisan to archaeologist* are still available at the unbelievably low price of \$11.00 each (plus postage). If you do not have a personal copy yet or would like to give one as a gift at Christmas, now is the time to act! See Linda at the next meeting.

Mr. Gary Warrick has submitted the following research article for your consideration. He presents some interesting thoughts, on among other things, the genesis of the apparently culturally homogeneous Middle Ontario Iroquois horizon:

POTTERY FROM THE COOPER VILLAGE SITE AND ONTARIO IROQUOIS DEVELOPMENT

GARY WARRICK

Introduction

In recent years, there has been a flurry of archaeological activity on Early and Middle Iroquoian sites in southwestern Ontario, involving both research (Wright 1978, 1979; Williamson 1983) and salvage projects (Bill Fox, personal communication 1984). Although most of these projects have yet to be published, preliminary findings (Wright 1982; Williamson 1983; Timmins 1984) suggest that certain hypotheses about this period of Ontario Iroquoian development need major revision.

Perhaps one of the most important findings has been produced by Milt Wright's (1979) work at the Uren site. M. Wright (1982) has acquired new data that challenge the validity of the "Pickering conquest" hypothesis, a central argument in J.V. Wright's (1966) *The Ontario Iroquois Tradition*. M. Wright is cautious, however, and makes a plea for additional data, especially from sites which were occupied just prior to Uren. In 1980 and 1981, salvage excavations discovered just such a site - the Cooper village site (AgHb-18).

The aims of this paper are (1) to demonstrate that the Cooper village site represents a late Glen Meyer occupation, (2) to propose that Glen Meyer development occurred in the context of discrete site clusters, and (3) to present an alternative hypothesis to a "Pickering conquest" for explaining the Glen Meyer to Middle Iroquoian transition.

Cooper village site (AgHb-18)

In late 1979, Bill Fox learned that human remains were eroding out of a bank of the Grand River in Cainsville, Ontario. Salvage excavations were conducted during the spring of 1980 and 1981 and located two overlapped sites: AgHb-18, a late Glen Meyer village; and AgHb-19, a historic Neutral cemetery. They are known as the Cooper sites and recovered artifacts were analyzed by the author in 1982 (Warrick 1983).

The Cooper village is a palimpsest of overlapped houses and features (see Figure 1), a characteristic of Glen Meyer villages (Fox 1982). Portions of two overlapped longhouses were uncovered. While the sequence of house construction is unclear, ash-filled support posts in House 1 imply that this house may have seen a fiery end. In addition to this confusion, other occupations overlap and have disturbed village deposits. The west end of House 1 has been disturbed by the Neutral cemetery, a nineteenth-century road, and recent digging. As if this wasn't enough, Middleport material (i.e. a side-notched point, decorated bone tools and rimsherds with horizontal motifs) was found in Feature 25, in the floor of House 1!

Establishing the original provenience of Cooper village site artifacts was complicated somewhat by the overlapped occupations. While it was a relatively simple matter to separate Glen Meyer from Neutral artifacts (about 70% of the Glen Meyer artifacts in the collection were found in either Neutral burials or nineteenth-century post holes), the combination of Glen Meyer and Middleport artifacts in Feature 25 posed an interpretative problem.

If one was to examine the pottery types from Feature 25 out of context (see Table 1), one would conclude that either the feature contained a mixed assemblage, or that it contained a Uren assemblage. The former interpretation is most likely. Considering that F-25 truncated post moulds in the floor of House 1, the combination of Glen Meyer and Middleport artifacts in Feature 25 is simply the result of component mixture. Middleport ceramics also occurred in the Neutral cemetery and other recent disturbances (e.g. Feature 14 and Feature 26).

COOPER SITE RESCUE PROJECT - 1980

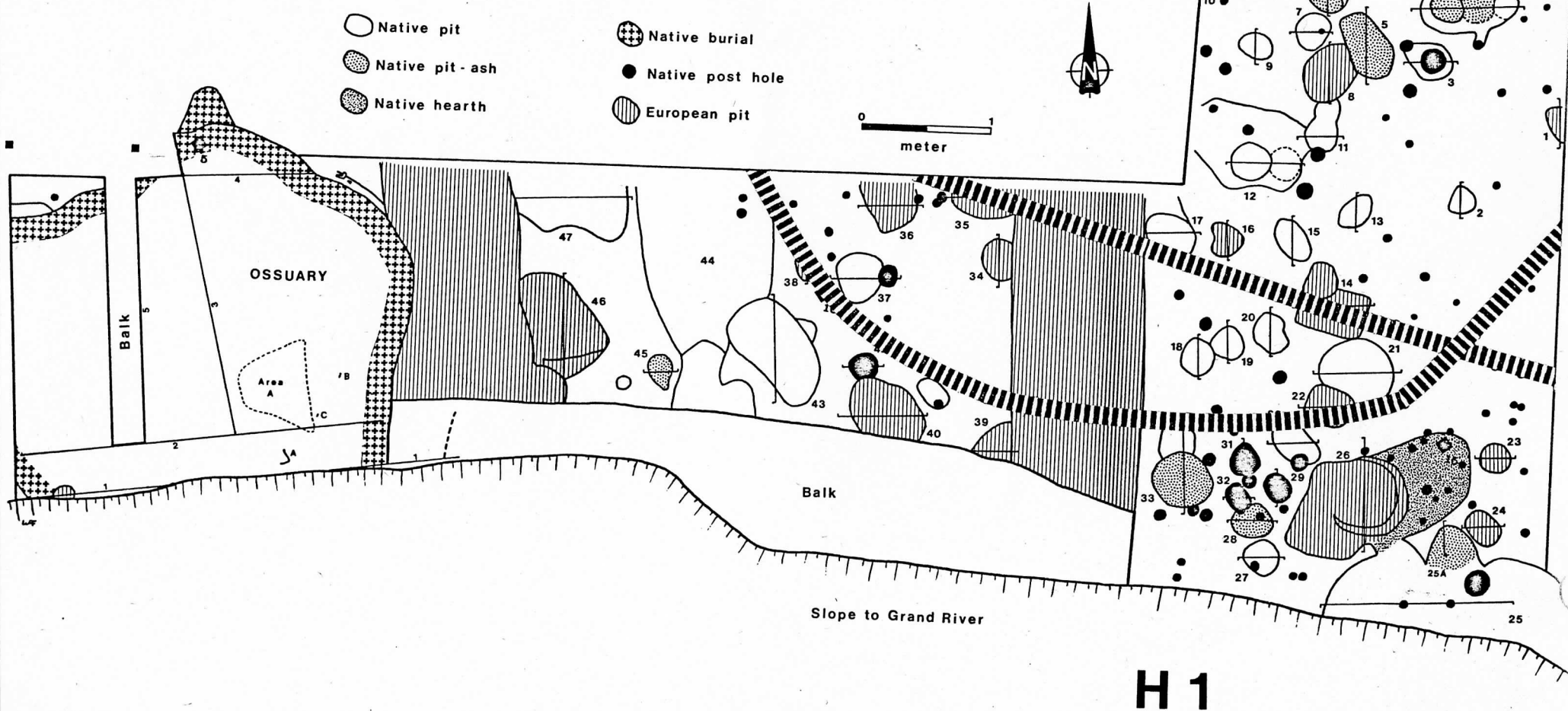


Figure 1. Cooper site house patterns

With the exception of a ribbed-paddle Iroquois Linear pot in Feature 21, pot rims from both houses are decorated with Glen Meyer motifs. While there is a possibility that Feature 21 is a Middleport feature too, Iroquois Linear is more a Pickering ceramic type than a Middleport one.

Since Feature 21 did not appear to superimpose other Middleport diagnostics, the Iroquois Linear pot may have resulted from Glen Meyer-Pickering contact. As will be discussed later, peaceful interaction between Glen Meyer and Pickering at the Cooper village is not an unreasonable explanation.

TABLE 1. POTTERY TYPE FREQUENCIES FROM COOPER SITE
PROVENIENCE UNITS

Pottery type	AgHb - 19		Feature 25		House 1		House 2	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Ontario Oblique	32	32	2	12	4	33.5	4	28.5
Glen Meyer Oblique	3	3	-	--	-	-	1	7
Middleport Criss-Cross	17	17	1	6	-	-	2	14
Stafford Stamped	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ripley Plain	4	4	3	17	4	33.5	4	28.5
Woodsmen Corded	5	5	-	-	-	-	1	7
Glen Meyer Linear Stamped	9	9	1	6	1	8	-	-
Goessens Punctate	9	9	1	6	-	-	1	7
Glen Meyer Necked	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Goessens Oblique	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	7
Ontario Horizontal	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middleport Oblique	7	7	7	41	2	17	-	-
Lawson Incised	-	-	1	6	-	-	-	-
Iroquois Linear	4	4	1	6	1	8	-	-
TOTALS	101	101	17	100	12	100	14	99

Radiocarbon analysis was used to date the Cooper village site. Four samples of carbonized wood were submitted for radiocarbon dating and results appear in Table 2. Except for the obviously anomalous date from Feature 25 (perhaps "old carbon"), recalibrated dates indicate a ca. A.D. 1230 occupation for the Cooper village (Timmins 1984).

TABLE 2. RADIOCARBON DATES FOR THE COOPER SITE

Teledyne Isotopes No.	Provenience (material)	Age in uncorrected years B.P.	Age in uncalibrated years A.D.
I-11,826	Feature 3 (wood)	750 \pm 75	1200 \pm 75
I-11,779	Feature 21 (wood)	800 \pm 75	1150 \pm 75
I-11,841	Feature 33 (wood)	730 \pm 75	1220 \pm 75
I-11,367	Feature 25 (wood)	955 \pm 80	995 \pm 80

In summary, geographic location, radiocarbon dates, pottery and other artifact data are consistent with the interpretation of the Cooper village site as a late Glen Meyer occupation, ca. A.D. 1200 - 1250.

Intersite comparisons and Glen Meyer development

Pottery from the Cooper site was compared to other Glen Meyer and Uren period sites. Sites were selected for which data are available on exterior rim technique, rim type, punctate attributes and body sherd treatment. Tables 3 - 6 summarize relevant attributes for the Cooper site.

Sites were compared using the Brainerd-Robinson similarity coefficient (see Doran and Hodson (1975) for applicability of this coefficient to archaeological data). In archaeology, the most common use of the Brainerd-Robinson coefficient is for site seriation. In such cases, the coefficient is a measure of similarity between two sites based on the total percentage differences between classes of some attribute (e.g. pottery type) for the sites. To arrive at a coefficient, one simply takes the total percentage differences and subtracts it from 200. Thus, sites with identical percentages of pottery types would have a coefficient of 200; sites with no common pottery types would have a coefficient of zero.

When interpreting similarity coefficients, it is important to keep in mind that ceramic similarity between a pair of sites does not necessarily imply temporal similarity; ceramic similarity is a net result of several underlying factors in addition to site age, including:

- 1) sample bias
- 2) geographical distance between sites, and
- 3) socio-political relationship between sites.

TABLE 3. EXTERIOR RIM TECHNIQUE FOR COOPER VILLAGE SITE *

Technique	f	%
Plain (smooth)	15	12.6
Corded/smoothed-over cord	6	5.1
Linear impressed	52	43.7
Fingernail impressed	13	10.9
Incised	7	5.9
Punctate	11	9.2
Push-pull	1	0.8
Crescent stamp	2	1.7
Suture stamp	1	0.8
Corded stick	6	5.1
Combined technique	5	4.2
TOTALS	119	100.0

* including Feature 25 non-Middleport rims

TABLE 4. POTTERY TYPES FOR THE COOPER VILLAGE SITE *

Pottery type	f	*
Ontario Oblique	42	35.3
Glen Meyer Oblique	4	3.4
Middleport Criss-Cross	20	16.8
Stafford Stamped	2	1.7
Ripley Plain	15	12.6
Woodsmen Corded	6	5.1
Glen Meyer Linear Stamped	11	9.2
Goessens Punctate	11	9.2
Glen Meyer Necked	5	4.2
Goessens Oblique	2	1.7
TOTALS	119	100.0

* including Feature 25 non-Middleport rims

TABLE 5. COOPER VILLAGE SITE PUNCTATE ATTRIBUTES *

Punctate/boss form	f	%
Exterior punctate (no boss)	1	0.9
Interior punctate (no boss)	3	2.5
Exterior boss	15	12.6
Absent	100	84.0
TOTALS	119	100.0

* including Feature 25 non-Middleport rims

TABLE 6. COOPER VILLAGE SITE BODY SHERD TREATMENT *

Surface treatment	f	%
Plain	56	14.3
Smoothed-over cord	201	51.4
Corded	91	23.3
Ribbed paddle	28	7.2
Check-stamp	4	1.0
Scarified	11	2.8
TOTALS	391	100.0

* excluding Feature 25 bodysherds

Although the next section will explain ceramic similarity between sites only in terms of temporal and geographical factors, the potential influence of sample bias and other factors is acknowledged.

Figure 2 shows site locations and Figure 3 illustrates the ceramic similarity between sites for exterior rim technique, rim type, punctate attributes and body sherd treatment.

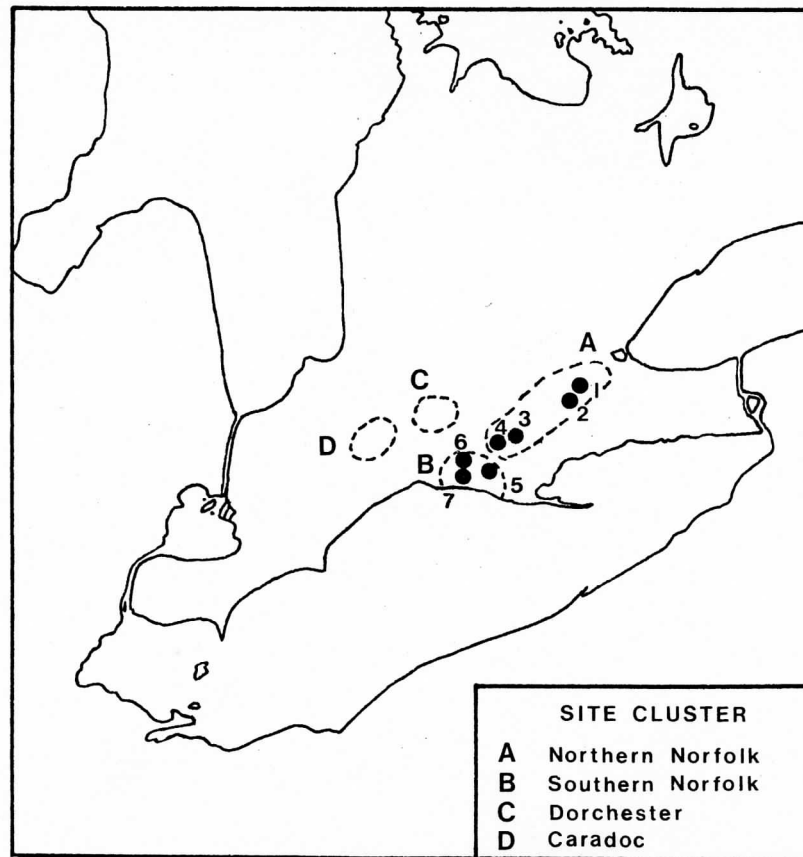


Figure 2. Location of Glen Meyer and Uren Sites

- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Cooper | 5. Goessens |
| 2. Porteous | 6. Stafford |
| 3. Van Besien | 7. Downpour |
| 4. Uren | |

Site similarities based on exterior rim technique proportions seem to reflect both temporal and geographical distance. For example, referring to Figure 3, while Porteous shows the expected decline in ceramic similarity with increased temporal distance between it and other sites, other sites, for instance Cooper and Van Besien, do not show such a relationship. It would be difficult to date Glen Meyer sites using exclusively rim technique proportions.

Site similarities based on rim type proportions, on the other hand, appear to correspond closely with temporal distance. From earliest to latest, the inferred site sequence is: Cooper, Goessens, Stafford, Uren and Downpour. This seriation agrees with radiocarbon (Timmins 1984; M. Wright 1982) and other age estimates (Wright 1969; Noble 1975) for these sites.

Rim punctate attributes seem to vary more with site location than site age. With reference to Figure 3 and the triangular co-ordinate plot in Figure 4, one can see that the sites cluster in two groups:

- (1) Van Besien, Cooper and Uren
- (2) Goessens and Stafford

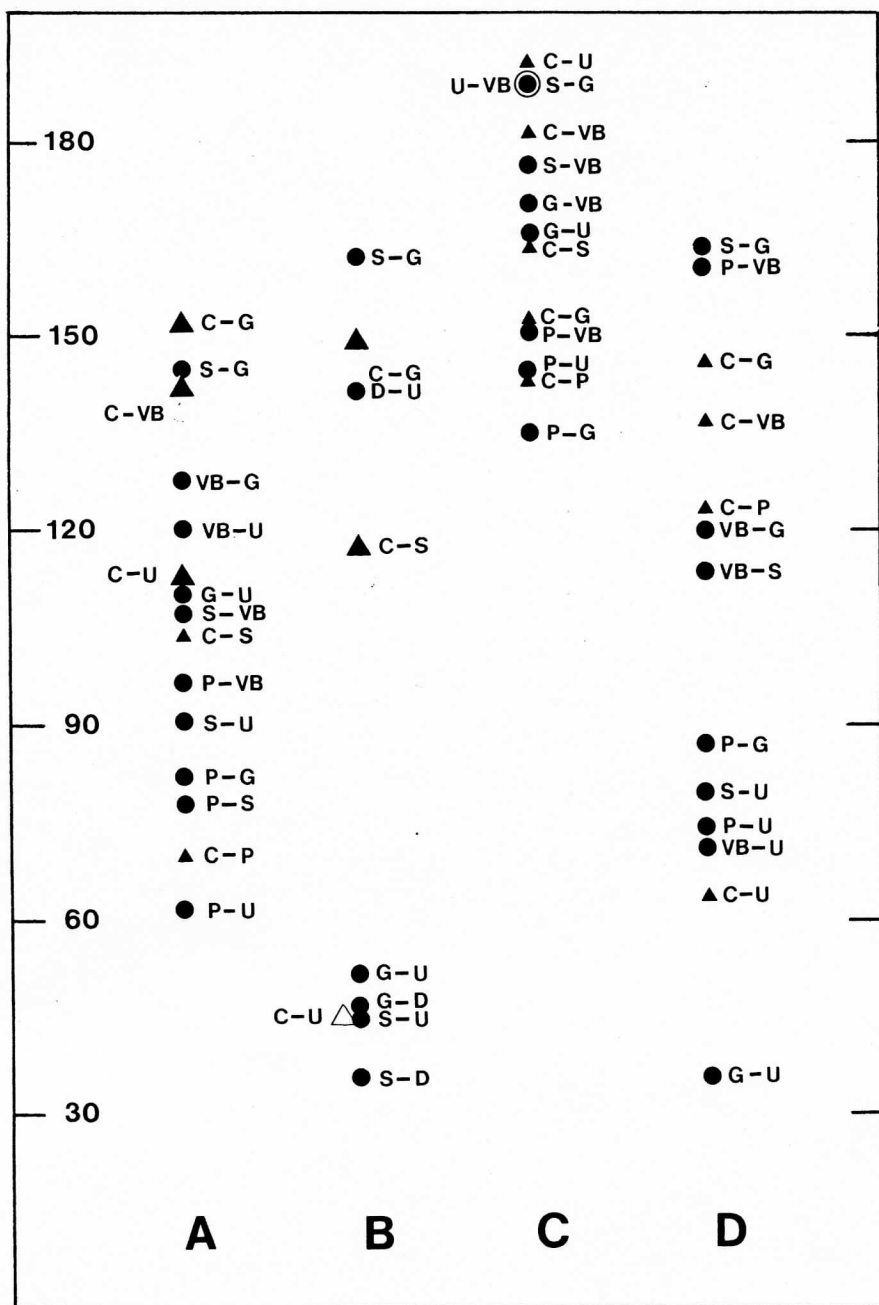


Figure 3. Coefficients of similarity for selected Glen Meyer and Uren period sites

Site code

P = Porteous; VB = Van Besien; U = Uren
 G = Goessens; S = Stafford; C = Cooper
 D = Downpour

Ceramic attribute code

A = Exterior rim technique
 B = Rim type
 C = Punctate attributes
 D = Body sherd treatment

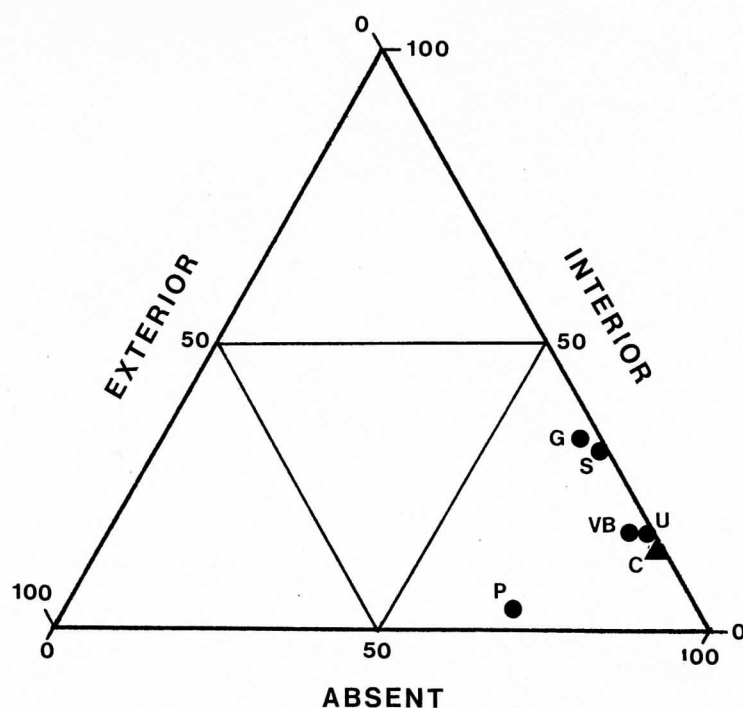


Figure 4. Rim punctate attributes for selected Glen Meyer and Uren period sites. (See Figure 3 for site key).

While Porteous is an outlier, it is more similar to the former group of sites than the latter.

Variability in body sherd treatment appears to have been influenced primarily by geographical location. Coefficients for the Cooper site are instructive. Cooper body sherds have far greater similarity to those from Van Besien and Porteous than to those from Uren or Stafford. Even more startling is the similarity between Porteous and Uren which is greater than that between Cooper and Uren. (The high similarity between Cooper and Goessens may be due to their near identical ages or sample bias). Furthermore, Porteous is most similar to Van Besien and Cooper. Combining geographical proximity with body-
sherd similarity, two groups of sites emerge:

- (1) Porteous, Van Besien and Cooper
- (2) Stafford and Goessens

Examination of original data reveals that Goessens and Stafford pots had mostly scarified bodies and Porteous, Van Besien and Cooper mostly corded or smoothed-over cord bodies.

Pottery comparisons differentiate sites along two axes: time and space. Results are summarized in Figure 5. Two local Glen Meyer sequences or site clusters are evident - one in the southern and another in the northern Norfolk Sand Plain.

The concept of local site clusters is hardly original (see Williamson (1983: 6) for a description of the Caradoc cluster). In fact, it is becoming increasingly clear that Ontario Iroquoian development in general occurred in

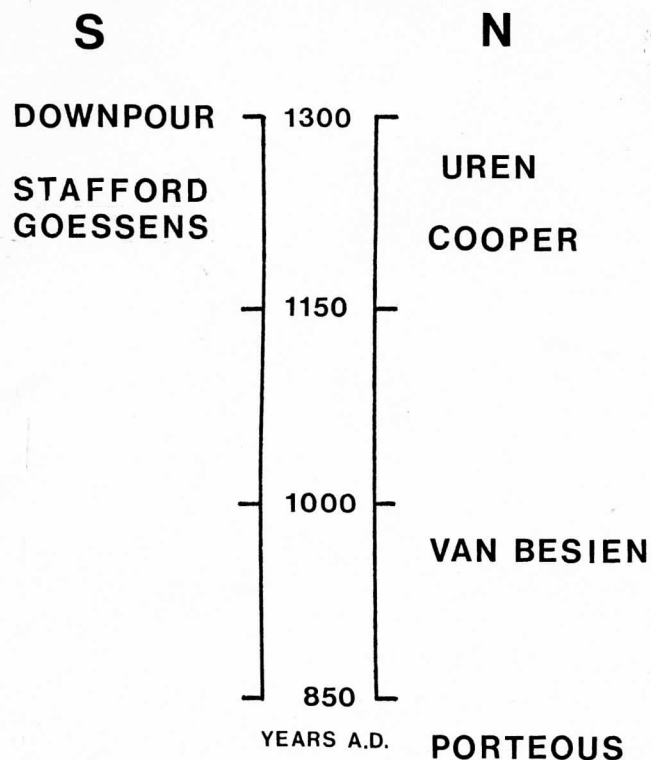


Figure 5. Site seriation for Southern and Northern Norfolk site clusters. (See Timmins 1984 for calibrated dates).

occupying a single drainage or region (Deetz 1965). It is proposed that autonomous Glen Meyer populations occupied the Caradoc, Dorchester, southern Norfolk and northern Norfolk-Grand River areas, and that economic and political interaction between them was minimal.

Pickering conquest hypothesis

Given that each Glen Meyer village was relatively autonomous, what events could have prompted Ontario Iroquoians to adopt a uniform ceramic tradition (i.e. Middle Iroquoian horizontal motif) between A.D. 1300-1400?

J.V. Wright (1966, 1969) has argued that artifact traits in Uren period sites indicate that Pickering peoples conquered and assimilated the Glen Meyer in the thirteenth century. However, there is a growing body of evidence that challenges the "Pickering conquest hypothesis". Recent archaeological research, including work at the Uren type site (M. Wright 1982), and ethnographic data simply do not support a Pickering conquest.

Assuming for the moment that a Pickering conquest happened, one would expect to see in the archaeological record a short-lived period of intense hostilities

local geographic contexts - i.e. "within the context of a few villages restricted to a local drainage system or to a few square miles of territory" (Ramsden 1977: 295). Recent work with pottery attributes has discovered local site clusters for Princess Point (Stothers 1977); Middleport (Kapches 1981; David Smith, personal communication 1982); prehistoric Huron (Ramsden 1977); and historic Neutral (Fitzgerald 1982; Lennox 1984). The local site cluster has significant implications for the interpretation of Iroquoian prehistory, particularly for the transition from Glen Meyer to Uren times.

From archaeological evidence, Glen Meyer settlements seem to have been relatively autonomous and loosely organized by lineage rather than tribal affiliation (see Warrick 1984). There is little evidence for village exogamy, external trade and warfare. Assuming that females were the potters, it is expected that such conditions would produce distinct, local ceramic traditions associated with a few villages

ca. A.D. 1250, followed by a period of relative peace in Uren times. No such pattern exists. In fact, finds from the Uren site itself show clearly that its inhabitants were at war (i.e. complex palisade and cannibalized human remains (Wright 1979)). If the Glen Meyer had been conquered, with whom were the Pickering occupants of the Uren site fighting?

Warfare and cannibalism appear to have been endemic to Iroquoian society from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, but seem to have reached a peak intensity in the early sixteenth century, not the thirteenth century. Archaeology has demonstrated that heavily fortified villages, battles, captives and cannibalism must have been common sights in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Ontario. While prehistoric Iroquoians probably fought frequently amongst themselves in short-term blood feuds, I have suggested elsewhere (Warrick 1984) that Ontario Iroquoians waged long-term war primarily against external enemies, such as the ancestral Assistaeronon, St. Lawrence Iroquois and Five Nations Iroquois.

In addition to archaeology, ethnographic data on Iroquoian warfare raises serious doubts about a Pickering conquest. Warfare among early contact Iroquoians had the same features as warfare among other tribal societies, including surprise attack, ambush, small raiding parties and disorganized ritual battles (Berndt 1964). Moreover, traditional Iroquoian weaponry, military strategy and tactics seem to have been ineffective against palisaded villages (Biggar 1922-1936, 2: 98-101; 3: 66-74; Heidenreich 1978). Add to this the likelihood that Early Iroquoians lived in autonomous villages and lacked tribal organization, it seems inconceivable that Pickering peoples had the capability to organize and launch a successful large-scale military operation against their Glen Meyer neighbours.

In summary, archaeological and ethnographic data show that the "Pickering conquest hypothesis" is not a very plausible explanation for the appearance of a Middle Iroquoian horizon.

Although awaiting the collection of further data, a model of gradual territorial expansion and peaceful interaction between Glen Meyer and Pickering peoples provides a more convincing alternative to a Pickering conquest model (M. Wright 1982: 12-13).

A model of peaceful Glen Meyer-Pickering interaction in the thirteenth century incorporates several variables:

- (1) population growth
- (2) ecological stress (i.e. dry climatic episode)
- (3) external warfare, and
- (4) exchange

Also, the model is based on two premises. First, Ontario Iroquoians appear to have abandoned the sand plains of southwestern Ontario by A.D. 1400 (Fox 1976). And secondly, recalibration of radiocarbon dates for Early and Middle Iroquoian sites collapse the entire Middle Iroquoian period from 150 to 50 years, implying a period of rapid change and adjustment (Timmins 1984).

About A.D. 1300, southern Ontario may have experienced a dry climatic episode (see Warrick 1984). Assuming that drier climates produce more frequent drought and that the transition from Early to Middle Iroquoian times correlates

with a population increase, a drier climate and population pressure (i.e. a heavy reliance on horticultural food) would have put an ecological strain on the Glen Meyer. A need for more reliable and abundant corn harvests may have been the key factor promoting Glen Meyer abandonment of the sand plains and resettlement on heavier loam soils. During this period of emigration, communities would have become less autonomous through economic necessity. In times of more frequent drought and crop failure, it would have been adaptive for each Glen Meyer community to share its food surplus with its hard-pressed neighbours. Exchange and sharing of foodstuffs would have led inevitably to exchange of other items, women, pots, ritual, etc.

While population pressure and climatic change (i.e. ecological stress) may explain the relatively sudden transition from Early to Middle Iroquoian times, it seems unlikely that competition over arable land, given the extent of arable land in Southern Ontario, would have precipitated an unprecedented degree of warfare and cannibalism among Early Iroquoian groups. On the other hand, there is a possibility that Middle Iroquoians were at war with external enemies.

A recent synthesis of Ohio and southwestern Ontario prehistory (Stothers and Graves 1982) has pointed out that Algonkian groups from Ohio (i.e. Sandusky Tradition) expanded into and occupied extreme southwestern Ontario from the fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries. There are indications that warfare played a large role, especially during the fourteenth century. It is possible then that the Sandusky Tradition expansion forced Glen Meyer peoples to migrate further north and east into Pickering homelands. Maybe the Glen Meyer and Pickering even joined forces to put a halt to the aggressive and competitive Sandusky Tradition expansion. This could explain the puzzling combination of both warfare and Glen Meyer-Pickering artifacts in the Uren site. Of course this scenario is pure speculation and will require great heaps of data to substantiate it. But it is time to abandon the "Pickering conquest hypothesis" and look for new explanations.

Conclusions

On the basis of pottery and radiocarbon dates, the Cooper village site (AgHb-18) is interpreted as a late Glen Meyer occupation. (ca. A.D. 1200-1250). The small amount of Middleport artifacts found in some of the site features are interpreted as products of a later Middleport occupation.

Comparisons of the Cooper site pottery with that from other Glen Meyer and Uren period sites revealed two site clusters for the Norfolk Sand Plain. Each cluster had distinctive ceramic traits, some of which persisted for centuries.

Lastly, archaeological evidence and ethnographic data on tribal warfare do not support a "Pickering conquest" model. A more plausible alternative is the "Glen Meyer-Pickering interaction" model. Possibly for reasons of mutual aid and protection from an external enemy (i.e. Sandusky Tradition) and ecological stress, the Glen Meyer and Pickering increasingly came to share their homelands and pottery styles through peaceful exchange and interaction.

Acknowledgements

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